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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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"As soon as an Isneg boy knows the meaning of shame, he should wear a G-string. From then on never go around stark naked, at least under ordinary circumstances. But if there is danger of your clothes getting wet, you can take them off of course: for instance, when mounting a raft, and sometimes also when riding a canoe, more especially when you have to tow the latter and enter the water at every turn, or when you have to cross rivers and brooks that are comparatively deep. You should not even take the trouble to put your G-string off and on at every step, provided of course you are alone or among your own people, and in the latter case provided you are circumcised, otherwise your companions would laugh at you. It is not shameful for a circumcised man to expose his genitalia and to walk along in a state of complete nudity, when there is a reason for doing so: nobody will be scandalized at that. Be very careful though never to appear naked when women may be espying you; there is no excuse for any man to expose his naked body to the gaze of women. That should be avoided by all means: would not these chatterboxes go around and tell everybody about it and make you the laughing stock of all the girls of the neighborhood?

"A girl should be modest. Do not fail to wear your G-string under your tapis as soon as you have attained a certain development: indeed, it might happen that your outer garment gets loose, and even in your ordinary movements it might sometimes be hard not to bare your body indecently, if no G-string is worn. A woman should always wear all her lower garments, except of course when she has to cross a deep stream or to take a bath, but then she should put them on again immediately afterwards. However, if men, her husband excepted, or strangers are around, she should prefer to wear wet clothes rather than take them off even for a single moment. Grown-up girls should always wear their jacket; they should never expose their breasts to the gaze of anybody. If you are a married woman, you need not be so meticulous; but cover yourself though when leaving the house, at least when strangers are around. Exposing the breasts from under the jacket is always allowed when giving a baby the breast; nor is it usually shameful to leave the breasts partially uncovered, when you are carrying a child or when a little one is otherwise present. Take this as a rule: except in the case of water sports and so on, and in the exclusive presence of persons of your own sex, never expose your genitalia, and, if you are as yet unmarried, your breasts. For the rest, you need not be very

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577 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any
834 grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even
291 though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pañńáw*.

577 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau
834 of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examin-
291 ation before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had
177 to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant:
577 this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything
684 else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime; what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[1]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[1] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

" Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. ' Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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837 684 [562] 831 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-án* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-, kurírkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
867 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldalláw* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibábbdy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumińídiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of an- 683
other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 689
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
cial etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter [515] of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of [824]
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

578 ter. Just as the place of Ewagan was being pointed out, all of a sudden, Ewagan was fire under the water. Paliahan, seeing the fire in the water, went at once to lift them up and found out that they still were holding each other tightly. After he had lifted them from the water, Paliahan unfastened the hair from the body of Ewagan and asked which of them was the first to make the attack. The brothers replied that Hinadolan was the first. Then Paliahan explained to them all that they should not fight: for they were all brothers, being sons of Hatan.

834 At this moment Ewagan and his sister Hinalingan suddenly disappeared from the group. After making a search, the brothers found only their bones. Later they discovered that Ewagan and Hinalingan were naked and had already joined their uncle Dalawigan. They had not approached their uncle at once because they were both naked. Dalawigan happened to go to the river where he found the two naked forms. Upon seeing their nakedness, he went back and brought them clothing. When they were clothed, he brought 000 them inside his house. They ate in the house of their uncle. After eating, Ewagan related to his uncle how his brothers had tried to kill him. After relating this, they hurriedly left in fear that their brothers would catch them. The pair promised their uncle that they would never show themselves to Hatan. The uncle insisted upon their remaining; but in spite of this, the pair went and joined their brother Dipparo, who was considered to be a Negrito by his brothers. So Ewagan and his sister flew on a spear through the sky to join Dipparo.